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SPRING CLEANING IN PARIS FOR A VERY SPECIAL OCCASION
A statue in front of the City Hall gets the broom as part of the general face-lifting that went on in the last weeks in preparation for the visit of Premier Khrushchev to the city where the Can-Can was born.

THE ROAD TO DISARMAMENT

Will Soviet proposal end atom deadlock? World waits on U. S.

By Kumar Goshal

THE SOVIET UNION made a far-reaching concession March 19 at the Geneva nuclear test suspension conference. The move was made to break the deadlock created by the U.S. demand for a ban on all tests except small underground explosions.

Washington had taken the position that detection methods thus far agreed on were not sensitive enough to differentiate between earthquakes and underground nuclear tests of less than 20 kiloton range; these, therefore, should be excluded from any test ban treaty, while the Big Three scientists carried on research to improve detection methods.

Moscow on March 19 accepted the U.S. plan to ban major tests—it had previously insisted on a ban on all tests—but proposed a moratorium on all underground tests while Big Three scientists jointly worked on devising more sensitive detection methods. The duration of the treaty and the moratorium, it said, would be decided by negotiation. Soviet delegate Semyon Tsarapkin said a treaty could be signed within a month if the West accepted Moscow's proposal.

BRITISH VIEW: Reaction abroad was strongly in favor of accepting. British newspapers played up the proposal and generally supported it. The **Daily Herald** urged Britain and the U.S. swiftly to seize the chance. The **News Chronicle** said that "Britain is prepared to accept" but feared the Pentagon would dissuade President Eisenhower from doing so.

The **Manchester Guardian** said: "If the U.S. and Britain do not accept it, they will look hypocritical, to say the least."

All agreed that a test ban treaty was a prerequisite to breaking the logjam in the disarmament conference which opened March 15, also in Geneva.

THE SOVIET PLAN: At the ten-nation

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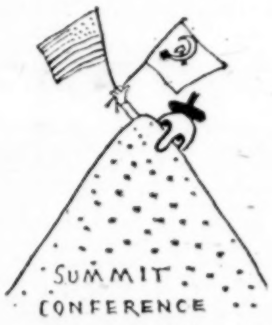

Dyad, London Daily Worker
"Keep your fingers crossed, Alfie."

'DAY OF HOPE' SET FOR MAY 17

White support grows for Negro youth protests

By Robert E. Light

AFTER SEVEN WEEKS of sitdown demonstrations by Negro students across the South, the nation gave signs of recognizing that a full-scale offensive against segregation was at hand. Some dismissed the sitdowns at first as well-meaning schoolboy pranks, others were stunned and sat back to await developments. By last week the forces for and against segregation, North and South, were beginning to move.

The adult Negro community was in full swing behind the students. In Nashville, Tenn., adults raised $40,000 in a few hours for bail for jailed sudents. National NAACP leaders toured Southern branches urging already-aroused adults to help the young demonstrators.

NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins told a regional conference in Dallas, Texas: "When a whole generation of young people decides that a thing is wrong, then it's dead . . . Segregation in public places must go." Rev. S. J. Sykes of Oklahoma City said: "You have to be willing to die for these young people."

LEGAL FUND RAISED: Some complained that Negroes in state and city jobs might be fired if they demonstrated publicly. Mrs. Clara Luper, an Oklahoma City teacher, answered: "This is the way I feel. You're born, you live, you die. But since I go this way but once I better get up and do something. As a history teacher if I can't demonstrate what I teach, then I'm a liar. What would be the importance of my job considering my kids losing these rights?"

In New York the NAACP national office called on all people to "withhold retail patronage" from chain variety stores which refuse to serve Negroes at lunch counters in Southern stores. The appeal followed announcement by F. W. Woolworth, S. W. Kresge and W. T. Grant stores that they would continue to "respect local customs" in their Dixie stores.

Sixty-two NAACP lawyers met in Washington March 19 to draft a master plan for defending the more than 1,000 demonstrators facing trial. Thurgood Marshall said: "We are going to appeal every fine." He added that the Fourteenth Amendment would serve as the basis for defense arguments. He also said that a $40,000 legal fund had been raised.

'DAY OF HOPE': In New York the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom in the South met at the headquarters of District 65 of the AFL-CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes. It pledged to raise $250,000 by May 17, the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court desegregation of schools decision, to aid Rev. King, who is being harassed by Alabama tax officials, and the students. These other actions were planned for May 17, which is called the "Day of Hope":

- A labor rally in the garment district. Morris Iushewitz, secy.-treasurer of the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, pledged full labor support. Garment Workers leaders have already led picket

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WEAK CIVIL RIGHTS BILL BECOMING WEAKER LAW

Congress thumbs its nose at democracy

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

> *"A Republican-Democratic coalition is tearing the pending (civil rights) bill to pieces . . . At the present rate of sneaky ditching, dumping, chopping and trimming, nothing will be left worthy of support . . ."*
>
> —Statement by board of directors, NAACP, March 14

AS 500 ARRESTED Negro student demonstrators sang "God Bless America" in a South Carolina stockade, Congress was confirming the above protest. In the House, leaders of both parties were making H.R. 8601, which started out "weak as dishwater," even more acceptable to the Dixiecrats. The Senate marked time waiting for the House to complete its work.

The House sell-out started with a March 12 meeting of Speaker Sam Rayburn (Tex.), Dixiecrat leaders Howard Smith (Va.) and Edwin E. Willis (La.), and House Republican leaders Charles A. Halleck (Ind.) and William M. McCulloch (Ohio). The meeting produced a gentlemen's agreement which won Southern cooperation when the House started to vote on Monday, March 14.

LINE OF ATTACK: The Dixiecrat battle plans were clear: (1) Stop all moves to strengthen and extend the Administration bill introduced by Republican Senate leader Everett Dirksen (Ill.); (2) remove the most meaningful sections of the Dirksen bill, the provisions for Federal support and financial aid to school desegregation and for Feredal enforcement of the clauses in government contracts outlawing hiring discrimination; (3) render the Negro voting rights section meaningless by adding qualifications, technicalities, and difficult legal and procedural requirements.

The Dixiecrats oppose any authority for Northern officials in the Southern racial situation, and aim to nullify any civil rights law by keeping its enforce-

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

Nominate Frederick Douglass

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Congratulations on the proposal to place Frederick Douglass in the Hall of Fame. Since we Unitarians have an incredible number of our own people in that company I would be doubly happy to see Frederick Douglass included. I am writing my own letter today. I can hardly believe that the Confederacy girls think they should put Jefferson Davis up seriously. Maybe the English Speaking Union will put up Benedict Arnold.

Stephen H. Fritchman

Have you written your nominating letter? Address Hall of Fame, New York University, Washington Square, N.Y. Deadline, April 1—**Ed.**

Adenauer & Princeton

AUSABLE FORKS, N.Y.

It is hardly to be doubted that countless thousands of thoughtful Americans will be shocked by the awarding of an honorary degree by Princeton University to a statesman, Konrad Adenauer, who, it becomes daily more apparent, is re-building a power that, in the evil image of his country two decades ago, threatens the peace of the world.

Permit me in this open letter [to Dr. Robert F. Goheen, president of Princeton University] to state that to honor Konrad Adenauer is to shed dishonor on that great man of peace, Albert Einstein, whose long association with Princeton lent the University luster in the eyes of the whole world. To honor Adenauer now is to disgrace the college.

Rockwell Kent

Adenauer's Germany

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The New York **Times** gave a whole column to a letter from the president of a so-called "American Council on Germany," Dr. George N. Shuster, defending an individual German official of dubious humanity instead of facing the basic issue of the survival of Nazism and anti-Semitism in the German Federal Republic.

My own competence to speak on these matters rests on qualifications which it is pertinent to outline.

I have an advanced speaking, reading and writing knowledge of the German language. After long and intensive postgraduate researches in German I taught the language in the secondary schools of our country. I have had personal, direct contact with Germany through periodic visits during 39 years. My last visit was in 1956. I was in Germany in 1933, the first year of the Nazi regime, when I conferred with educators, who turned out to be Nazis, and others, and I exchanged information with the late Mr. Messersmith, who was our Consul in Berlin at that time.

The fundamental point is that after the defeat of the German power, there were popular movements on the continent of Europe that eliminated Nazi and pro-Nazi elements in France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries. The French people hurled from power their own pro-Nazi governors and the Italian people rose against Mussolini, overthrew and killed him.

In contrast, there was no uprising of the German people against the Nazi rulers and these were not overthrown by the German people.

I know many Germans who have little confidence in the present German government, but I would not say they are very effective, nor even that they are a considerable minority.

While the word "free" is necessarily a relative term, it can be boldly stated that the German Federal Republic is not a free country in the sense that Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries are.

Prof. Ephraim Cross

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

SEOUL, Korea, March 16—South Korea's elections, though bloody and criticized by the anti-government party as "rigged," nevertheless testified to the popularity of President Syngman Rhee.

Though he was unopposed, his bitterest foes concede that he would have won handily even if Dr. Chough Pyong Ok, the candidate of the Opposition Democratic party, had been alive for the contest. It was the second time a Rhee opponent died before an election.

—N.Y. **Times** March 17

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: C. E. L., Center Islip, N.Y.

Protest Sahara bomb

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALA.

In view of the fact that nuclear radiations are injurious to life, and realizing that the world seeks to establish and ensure peace, among other things, by the disposal of all nuclear arms, all members of the African Student Union at Tuskegee Institute highly resent and deeply deplore the recent French nuclear test in Sahara.

We strongly object to any further use of the African soil for atomic explosions.

France may join the notorious and inhuman nuclear club but she should not poison the life on Africa to save her vain grandeur and satisfy her conscience.

Yaw Ahenkorah
Nicholas Raballa
Tuskegee Institute,
African Students Union

Chessman appeal

AUCKLAND, N. Z.

Many in New Zealand are deeply concerned and shocked at the treatment which Caryl Chessman has received and add our protests to those which have been sent from many other countries around the world.

If those who wish to see Caryl Chessman snuffed out in the gas chamber have any concern for the name of America, they will use their influence to stop an act which will affront the conscience of the world.

Arthur O'Halloran

The GUARDIAN has received many more letters than we can print urging clemency for Chessman and stating opposition to the death penalty.—**Ed.**

For Henry Winston

BRONX, N.Y.

I am writing to the Parole Board in Washington, D.C., in behalf of my neighbors, the Winstons. They are a fine and intelligent family wholly undeserving of the agonies and injustice now meted out to them through the persecution of their husband and father, Henry Winston.

It is tragic indeed and a blot on the good name of our nation that Henry Winston is not immediately paroled in order to undergo proper treatment and have the chance to recover from his serious condition. His health and vigor have been broken as a result of imprisonment for political **opinions** and not for overt acts.

Leah A. Mazur

Needed amendment

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

For some time I have felt that the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law of 1952 bore down unreasonably hard on our foreign born.

While I feel that abolition of the law is of prime importance, I also feel that until such a change can be brought about there could be alterations to remove its worst features.

Such a minimum is embodied in the proposed Five Year Statute of Limitations on deportations and denaturalizations. Such an amendment would be of great value and would go far to humanize a burdensome and ill-advised piece of legislation.

(Rev.) **Edward L. Peet**

Buried truth

NEW YORK, N.Y.

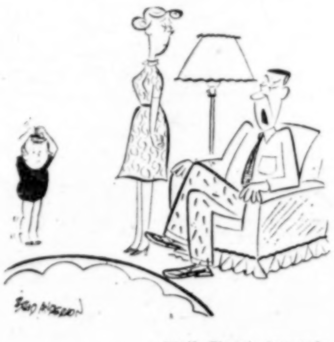
Looking for an example of how the "free press" turns the truth into a slave? Here's a little beauty.

"CHINESE DISCLOSE 'MASSACRES' IN '58" read the headline of a news story in the **New** York **Times**, March 13. The story said that "the Chinese Communists have belatedly admitted that a rebellion against their rule in Tsinghai Province in 1958 resulted in 'massacres' . . ."

Having read this far, you would have to be pretty simple-minded not to see that the Chinese Communists had admitted to committing massacres. And how many readers would continue on another seven paragraphs to learn that, in fact, it was not the Communists who were doing the massacring? For the story goes in to say:

". . . The Tsinghai Governor said that . . cattle owners and diehards of the religious upper strata, unwilling to see the extinction of the feudal class . . . burned down houses, committed rape and robbery and massacred the people . . ."

F. L. H.



Wall Street Journal

"You mean THAT'S sixty-eight bucks worth of charm and poise!"

Guardian Library needs

GEORGETOWN, BRIT. GUIANA

The Guardian Library, operated by the People's Progressive Party, provides the only source of progressive literature for the Guianese people. But operated as it is by a party which because of its socialist aims and policies does not expect funds from the lucrative channels, the Guardian Library finds it difficult to acquire enough books which are not only current, but of relative importance.

We are for example rather short of books which deal with the social and econome problems facing an underdeveloped country like ours, on economics, on political questions, history, art, literature and philosophy.

We shall be extremely grateful if you will make an appeal to your readers to send to the Guardian Library, 41 Robb St., Lacytown, Georgetown, books and publications on the above topics.

Janet Jagan

Wearing thin

BELHAVEN, N.C.

This area, almost exclusively dependent on agriculture, is in a very depressed condition—physically, economically, emotionally. Faith in capitalism as a way of life is wearing very thin in these parts. The air is filled with sadness. Even speculators are complaining that you can't sell anything when nobody has any money. Sullenness is creeping higher up the economic scale.

Remarkable at a time when gross national production is said to have reached a utopian rate of $480 billion a year!

Vernon Ward

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Vol. 12, No. 24 401 March 28, 1960

REPORT TO READERS

Have you joined up?

IT IS OUR FIRM BELIEF that the movement begun by the Negro college students in the South to drive jimcrow from the lunch counters will accomplish its objective as the four main offenders—the nationwide chains of Woolworth, Kresge, Kress and Grant—feel the effect of a growing nationwide protest.

This protest is gaining momentum day by day—greater momentum, we suspect, than is reflected even in the wide coverage now appearing in some of the big newspapers. In a rural shopping center in the deep North, a band of teenagers weathered the season's heaviest snowstorm to picket the doors of the local five-and-dime. No one got arrested, so naturally such a story would not make the papers. Youngsters who have never seen a picket line, except perhaps in front of a steel plant on television, are lo and behold finding themselves hitting the bricks. A 12-year-old son of a GUARDIAN neighbor gravely informed his father that he had been asked by some schoolmates to picket the dime store on Saturday. The father nodded approvingly. "But, daddy," the boy asked, "what is it, to picket?"

A campus paper mailed in by a subscriber tells of a big turnout by University of Washington students in Seattle. A note from Madison tells us that University of Wisconsin students collected a quick $600 and sent it south to pay the fines of some of the youths arrested there.

Already there are breakthroughs. In San Antonio, Tex., Suffolk, Va., Winston-Salem and Oklahoma City, significant victories have been won. In some areas where stores closed up shop completely because of the sit-ins, some have opened a few days later serving all comers at the lunch counters without causing a ripple in the community. Some stores closed up, and opened next day with stand-up service only at the lunch counter. Since vertical integration is fairly common in the South, the crisis was ended peacefully if uncomfortably for all.

WE WOULD LIKE to know a lot more than we do about the nationwide demonstration, the eventful as well as the uneventful activities. If you, wherever you are, can find time to mail us a clipping, or a note on some local or nearby activity you've seen, know about, taken part in or just heard about on a newscast, it will help us get as much as possible of the whole picture. As many of such reports as we can publish, even in capsule form, will encourage other communities like yours to take that first, hard-to-take step.

Meanwhile, save those dimes until our dime stores decide to treat all customers alike. When this salient is won, we can start on the next one with a good bit of combat experience under our helmets.

•

THE REPORT ON P. 3 of the initiation of a 1960 Campaign for Disarmament may be one of the most important developments in the whole struggle for peace. Credit must go to the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy for the first initiative, calling together the participating groups. The resulting policy statement is—like the London "Foothills" statement (which appeared in full only in the GUARDIAN, 2/22)—very much a model of bringing together a variety of points of view in a single document, and surely it is a document to which any peace-seeking American could subscribe.

The question is whether every such American will have a chance to subscribe to it in a way to bring it to bear with the greatest effect on the political scene in our country today.

We urge our readers to study it and to save the text for further reference. We suggest that the initiating groups be informed of your interest in it, and the extent to which you can help bring it to wider concurrence, or at least to the attention of your community, with its most impressive list of initiating organizations.

If peace is to be firmly and honestly in the political argument of 1960, it must be everyone's job to place it there, and the Policy Statement of the 1960 Campaign for Disarmament is by long odds the best contribution yet to that task.

—THE GUARDIAN

Take the fifth

BOSTON, MASS.

What a pity that "no one on the GUARDIAN staff reads Chinese." I was told by a Chinese expert that the graphs of the right line on Le Perroquet (the Chinese print offered in the Buying Service, p. 12, March 7 issue) may be translated two ways:

1. "You like to carry tales. I refuse to say anything before you."

2. "You're a tittle-tattle (mischief-maker). I'll keep mum."

Isn't this a nice description of the pert bird?

George Spelvin

The 1960 Campaign for Disarmament opens

The statement reprinted below has been initiated by a far-reaching group of peace-seeking organizations as the basis for a 1960 Campaign for Disarmament. The aim of the campaign is to seek concurrence in the statement's objectives by candidates of all parties for public office, including candidates for nomination for the Presidency, and to propose planks for total world disarmament to the platform committees of both Democratic and Republican national conventions.

Among the supporters are the American Friends Service Committee, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the United World Federalists and the American Association for the United Nations. In addition, representatives of numerous other groups participated in the discussions which produced the final draft of the statement, with the understanding that their groups would be asked to concur in it. Such groups included the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., the Board of World Peace of the Methodist Church, the continuations committee of the American Baptist Convention, the Temple Sisterhood, the American Committee on Africa, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament.

An outline of political action proposals for the campaign plans personal interviews with Presidential candidates in advance of key primaries where possible; and "discussions in depth" with key legislators and members of the Presidential staff.

Locally, participating groups are urged to cooperate in writing to members of Congress and the newspapers; and to conduct interviews with candidates for the House and Senate.

Sanford Gottlieb, political action director for the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, has been designated to coordinate the 1960 Campaign for Disarmament from SANE's Washington Office at 245 Second St. N.E., Washington 2, D.C. While the Campaign has not issued a general call for concurrence, its political action outline urges a common effort among the initiating groups to expand the organizational base to include farm, labor, church and civic groups.

RECENT INTERNATIONAL developments have brightened the chances of an evolution toward peaceful competition between the power blocs. Communist and non-communist nations share a common interest in the will to survive. This common interest must be translated into policies which will permit the rival systems to compete in peace. Unless such policies are put into practice, both sides face the risks of an uncontrolled arms race leading eventually to mutual suicide.

The United States can hasten this evolution, particularly in the field of disarmament, as a realm in which it can prove its serious dedication to a world without war. Disarmament agreements with adequate inspection and control would lessen tensions and distrust, permit the diversion of resources now used in the arms race into productive channels, and create a new area for the exercise of international sovereignty.

The United States government could regain the initiative in the field of disarmament by:

THOU
HALT NOT
KILL'
SCIENTISTS ARGUE HOW HARMFUL TESTS ARE!
NO SCIENTIST SAYS BOMB TESTS AREN'T HARMFUL
PEACE
WAR!
CASTRO WOULD LIKE THE BOMB
ALL NATIONS HALT NUCLEAR TESTS NOW!
CLEAN
TRUJILLO WANTS THE BOMB...
HALT FRENCH BOMB TESTING
PAS DE RADIATI
SANS REPRESEN
PREVENT ATOMIC CHAOS START NOW!
AFRICANS PROTEST
ATOMS FOR PEACE NOT WAR

1. Making a firm and unequivocal declaration by the President and Congress that total world disarmament under United Nations supervision and control and the eventual rule of world law are basic goals of United States foreign policy, taking positive action to implement this declaration and negotiating on the basis of the United Nations Resolution on Disarmament which was co-sponsored by the entire membership of the 1959 General Assembly.

2. Continuing negotiations now in progress at Geneva to end nuclear weapons tests and refraining from testing of any nuclear weapons so long as negotiations are proceeding in good faith, and by ratifying the resulting treaty by the U.S. Senate.

3. Creating a top-level, permanent disarmament planning group within the executive branch, having proper liaison with the Senate disarmament subcommittee, to prepare practical steps toward the progressive international control and elimination of all weapons of mass destruction and all conventional arms. Such a planning group should continue to formulate policies to be submitted to the UN Disarmament Commission or any similar unit working in this field in the future.

4. Creating an agency or adapting an existing agency to help plan for orderly transition of defense work to civilian work.

5. Providing more adequate personnel and appropriations to the Senate disarmament subcommittee.

6. Promoting study by both government agencies and private organizations of the three questions outlined by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge Oct. 14, 1959, before the political committee of the UN General Assembly, in order that the U.S. may lay before the next General Assembly its proposals regarding them. If all nations lay down their arms, there must be institutions to preserve international peace and security and promote the rule of law. Therefore, said Lodge, the United States would like to find answers to the following:

(a) "What type of international police force should be established to preserve international peace and security?

(b) "What principles of international law should govern the use of such a force?

(c) "What international security forces in precise terms would be required by nations of the world if existing armaments are abolished?"

7. Promoting passage of Senate Resolution 94 for the elimination of the Connolly Amendment which limits American adherence to the International Court of Justice. It is necessary to provide means of peaceful settlement of disputes through a strong world court and consideration of those revisions of the UN Charter essential to an adequately functioning UN.

8. Seeking agreements to denuclearize and demilitarize all tension areas where hostile forces in close proximity could touch off incidents leading to generalized conflict, recognizing the close and reciprocal relationship between political settlements and arms control.

9. Denying nuclear weapons, weapon parts and delivery systems to countries not now possessing them and suspending implementation of existing agreements, pending conclusion of international agreements to control nuclear weapons.

10. Taking cognizance of the fact that any effective disarmament plan will require the participation of all countries, essentially those which have or might obtain nuclear weapons, such as France and the People's Republic of China, and acting to insure their participation in agreements which may be made; seeking their adherence, for instance, to a test-ban treaty and their agreement to accept placement of monitoring stations on their soil.

PART OF DISARMAMENT CAMPAIGN

Peace groups plan Little Summit and a summer youth caravan

GROUPS in San Francisco and New York have started work on anti-war projects which include a "Little Summit," a "Star of Hope" satellite, a permanent peace lobbyist, and a summer disarmament barn-storming caravan of young people.

On March 5, 150 persons assembled at the San Francisco First Unitarian Church in a Peace Workshop and agreed to hold a Little Summit—with disarmament and the economics of peace as key themes—to coincide with the May disarmament talks in Geneva.

The Workshop, which grew out of a Jan. 6 Peace Walk sponsored by the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, proposed to relay the findings of the Little Summit to the heads of government in Geneva and to publicize them on local television channels. A similar Little Summit is being planned in London.

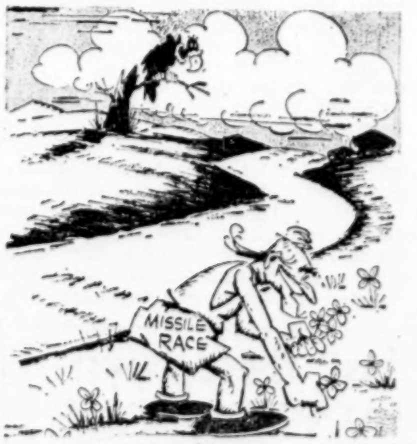
With Lloyd McMurray, local lawyer and member of the UFSJ, as chairman, the Workshop agreed to approach local church, peace and union organizations, but stressed participation by private individuals.

Support for the "Star of Hope" project was solicited from the Workshop. The peace satellite, containing microfilmed millions of signatures on a peace pledge, would orbit the earth, equipped with lights seen through space.

It was reported also at the Workshop that $7,000 had been collected from individuals to support a permanent peace lobbyist in Washington, D.C.

SUMMER CARAVAN: In New York, the Rev. Curtis Crawford, a Unitarian minister and teacher at New York University, is coordinating a summer disarmament caravan of young people. The caravan will set up booths at state fairs throughout the U.S., interview local leaders, organize outdoor rallies and street-corner meetings, and collect signatures for a disarmament petition. If enough young people join, there will be lobbies at the Democratic and Republican National Conventions.

A project of the "1960 Campaign for Disarmament," the caravan has been endorsed by the United World Federalists, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the Friends Committee on National Legislation and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Information may be obtained from the 1960 Campaign for Disarmament, 17 W. 45th St., New York 17, N. Y.



Dowling, New York Herald Tribune

What's the prize for second place?

MADISON SQ. GARDEN, MAY 19

SANE N. Y. rally to hear Gov. Williams

GOVERNOR G. Mennen Williams of Michigan has accepted an invitation to appear as a major speaker at the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy's Madison Square Garden meeting on May 19. The Paris Summit talks begin May 16. The Governor made public on Jan. 31 a report on a three-day University of Michigan conference of scientists and public figures on the immediate need for nuclear disarmament.

The honorary chairmen for SANE's rally are Norman Cousins and Clarence Pickett, co-chairmen of the organization; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt of the American Assn. for the UN; Max Youngstein, vice-president of the United Artists Corp.; and the Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg, President of the National Council of Churches of the United States.

Dr. Harold Taylor, president emeritus of Sarah Lawrence College, will serve as Chairman, and Dr. Israel Goldstein of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun will be one of the speakers.

Help Build The Guardian!
Send a friend a Sub—$1 for 13 weeks

Civil rights

(Continued from Page 1)

ment in the hands of Dixiecrat officials, juries and courts.

How the gentlemen's agreement worked was reported by the New York **Times** on March 15: "The atmosphere of compromise surrounding the entire rights issue . . . was crystal clear in the House as voting began there. The proceedings followed a script already worked out by the leaders of each faction. Today the script called for an effort to add school-integration and job-discrimination clauses to the House bill. This, according to scenario, was to be ruled out of order by the chair . . . The scene played flawlessly."

JOB SECTION: The first scene found House Judiciary Committee chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) pitted against Rep. Walter (D-Pa.), who was presiding. Celler moved to restore a section to the bill to give the Federal government power to act against discrimination in hiring in government contracts. This section had been removed by a Walter-led two-party coalition in the Judiciary Committee. Howard Smith (D-Va.), chairman of the House Rules Committee, objected on grounds that the Celler proposal was not germane under the rule his Committee had granted to govern the debate. Walter upheld Smith's objection. Celler appealed Walter's ruling. By a standing vote, Walter was upheld, 157 to 67. All but a dozen Republicans voted with the Dixiecrats to kill this part of the Administration's civil rights program.

Next, Celler proposed another section that had been similarly deleted. This would give Federal aid to desegregating school districts. The same procedure was repeated, but this time Celler was shouted down by a voice vote. In less than a half hour, the Republican-Democratic combination had killed the two most meaningful sections of the bill.

HYPOCRISY: The NAACP board of directors commented: "In the House today some members made speeches for the printed record and then voted in opposition to their own speeches because the vote was not on roll-call. Those who are cynically betraying the civil rights cause cannot expect that their roles as individuals and as party leaders and functionaries will be forgotten."

The next scene involved the Administration's plan for court-appointed voting referees. Sponsored by Rep. McCulloch R-O.), the referee plan was watered down to provide that (1) referees must be qualified voters from the area; (2) local election officials can argue and appeal their own case; (3) each Negro would-be voter must prove specific individual discrimination and not allowed to register on the basis of an established general pattern of denial of voting rights; (4) voting "referees" could not be present and watch over the counting of ballots.

This part of the gentlemen's agreement sell-out was worked out with Atty. Gen. Rogers and the Justice Dept.—even as Rogers appealed to the House not to follow the Senate lead and delete the provision making it a crime to use force against school desegregation orders. The Attorney General said that if Congress sustained the Senate action on this section of the bill it "would give encouragement to the extremists who constantly chant that the orders of the court are not the law of the land and thus may be flouted."

NEAT TRICK: The next scene almost resulted in complete elimination of the voting rights plan. Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier (D-Wis.), on behalf of the House Democratic civil rights advocates, proposed to substitute the Hennings (D-Mo.) plan of Presidential-appointed vote "enrollers" for the Administration plan of court-appointed referees. This system, it was claimed, would be more effective, speedier, and free of Southern domination.

Voting was by teller count (Congressmen walk up the center aisle of the House and are counted by tellers for each side; individual votes are not recorded). In a confusing scene, Speaker Rayburn marched up the aisle voting for the weaker Republican voting referee plan. Rep. Smith, commanding the Confederate forces, then had his followers vote for the tougher Kastenmeier - Hennings plan which was provisionally passed 152 to 128. When the teller vote came on final approval of the entire amended voting rights plan, Smith and his fellow Dixiecrats voted against the section and it was defeated, 170 to 143. Only seven Republicans voted against killing the entire voting rights provision.

Then Republican and Democratic House leaders prevailed upon Rep. Walter, who was presiding, to permit the House to get back on the track of watering down rather than killing the voting rights provision. This was done by reintroducing in slightly altered form the sell-out McCulloch version of the voting referee plan.

SMALL GAIN: March 16 saw a small gain in the voting rights section. After a night bargaining session between Administration supporters and Democratic liberals, Republicans and Democrats joined forces against Southern opposition to pass an amendment to block delaying tactics against Negro voters by establishing "provisional voting" that would preserve the Negro's vote while his claim to being legally qualified is decided. The vote was 188 to 120.

This slight departure from the gentlemen's agreement script led to a flood of Dixiecrat verbal abuse accompanying a series of Southern amendments. The first of these, by Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D-La.) was defeated 192 to 121.

Before the House recessed for the March 19-20 week-end, it defeated a Southern proposal, introduced by Rep. Budge (R-Ida.), by the narrow margin of 137 to 134, to limit the voting rights protection to Federal elections, excluding state and local elections. Atty. Gen. Rogers sent the House a message of opposition to Budge's amendment. "It would be sheer sanctimony," he said, to guarantee Negro voting rights only in Federal elections.

A majority of Republicans voted for the Dixiecrat position to exclude State and local elections from voting rights requirements. The Republican split was about 45 for the Dixiecrats, 35 votes against. Rep. John W. Byrnes (Wis.), chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, voted against the Administration. The closeness of the vote resulted partly from the "Tuesday-Thursday" Northeastern Democratic Representatives who were absent on Friday, March 18. As the New York **Times** observed, they "take a four-day week end to succor law practices at home." The civil rights debate didn't change this schedule for many Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and New Jersey House members.

THE REBEL YELL: The spirit of the Dixiecrats was exemplified in a tirade by Rep. E. L. Forrester (Ga.), who shouted: "This civil rights issue has been built up by fat and rich malcontents who have received far more from this government than they ever gave in return, and by do-gooders, unscrupulous politicians, and Communists . . . The Negroes are working to the day that America will be a completely mongrelized nation . . . I am sick and tired of this foolishness about discrimination . . . This thing stinks; it stinks."

When his time was up, unanimous consent to permit Forrester to continue five more minutes was requested. Negro Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) objected. But another Georgia Representative got the floor and turned it over to Forrester again, who screamed: "One more parting shot. I am tired of this helpless Negro stuff I hear so much talk about. They got after me one day about the way I pronounced that word. I never had any trouble with a nigger in my life, but oh, my God, that 'neegro'—I have had plenty with him . . ."

There was laughter all over the House, and applause from both Republicans and Democrats.

CREDIT AND SUPPLIES CUT OFF IN FAYETTE COUNTY, TENN.

Negro vote-seekers get starvation treatment

WHEN NEGROES lined up outside the county courthouse to register to vote in Somerville, Tenn., March 2, the county's leading white citizens and police put their names on a private list. The Negroes found, when they returned home, that their credit had been cut off. They could not buy food or farm supplies, banks refused them loans and some sharecroppers were evicted from their homes.

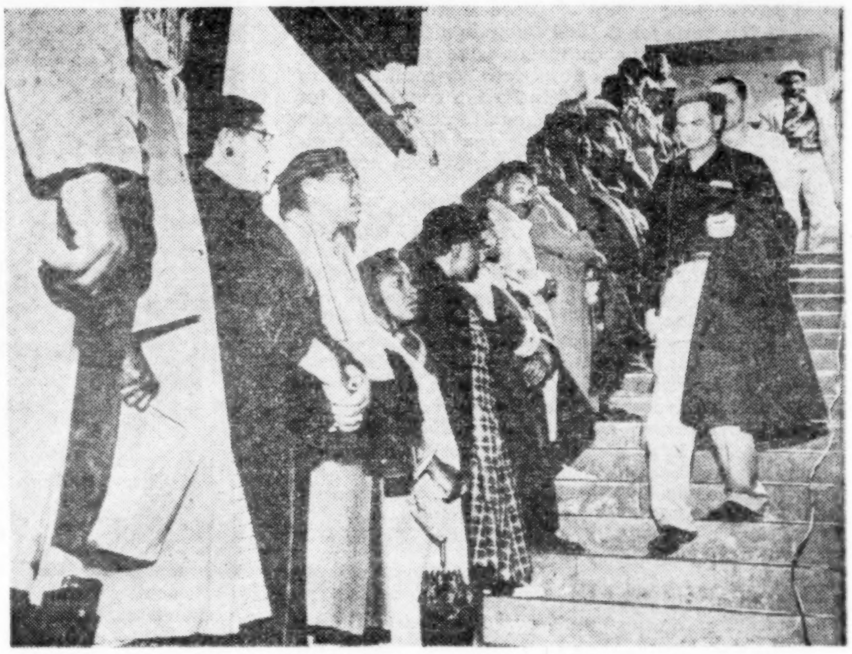
White citizens don't want Negroes to vote in rural Fayette county. A law bars non-whites from voting in the Democratic primary. The political structure of the county could be overturned if Negroes voted; they constitute 75% of the population.

Until now white supremacists have had their way. But this year Negroes in the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League opened a campaign to register. On March 2, 70 Negroes registered and 100 more were waiting on line when the office closed for the day. Despite the harassments, Negroes promise to return when registration re-opens on April 6.

THE REPRISALS: Rev. June Dowdy, a 45-year-old Negro minister-farmer, said "most of the farmers are now in a bad way. They are even denied the privilege of purchasing food at some grocery stores when they have cash money. Most of them have to go to Memphis, which is about 40 miles away. . . . We cannot even buy gas for our automobiles. . . . Some dry cleaners won't even clean garments for us now."

R. H. Powell owns 39 acres of farm land and has been obtaining loans from the Somerville Bank and Trust Co. since 1925. After he registered the bank refused him a loan. A bank official told him: "It's best for you to keep your hands off that mess." Powell answered: "I registered because I want to vote."

The McFerrin grocery store, owned by a Negro, is in danger of going out of business because soft drink distributors, baking companies and a gas company won't sell to it. The gas company even dug up their storage tanks in front of the store.



NEGROES LINE STAIRS TO REGISTER IN SOMERVILLE, TENN.
Said one: "I'll go back again and again until I'm registered"

Negroes point out that the boycott can work two ways. White merchants depend heavily on Negro patronage. If credit is cut off, they asked, who will buy the goods? Also, the county has the largest cotton allotment in Tennessee issued by the U.S. Agriculture Dept. "If this year's cotton quota is to be met," a Negro leader said, "Negro farmers will need means and equipment to produce it."

'DISASTER AREA': Fayette County Negroes and others from neighboring Heywood County, who are also in a credit squeeze, joined in hiring Memphis attorney James F. Estes to fight the boycott. Estes petitioned President Eisenhower to declare the two counties "disaster areas" so that the Federal government could make direct grants of food, clothing, seeds and equipment to the farmers.

Estes said: "When two entire counties have been deprived of the necessities for survival, then a disaster, a calamity has been effected which is just as effective in causing human suffering as if it were a fire, a tornado or a flood." President Eisenhower has not yet answered.

In Fayette County, Rev. Velvett Lee Smith summed up: "I've lived in this county for 20 years. I stood in line for hours but they closed the office before I could register. But I will go back again and again until I am registered."

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DOWN IN THE PRECINCTS

Hoffa leads his Teamsters into full political action

JAMES R. HOFFA'S Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters is going in for mass political action for the first time in its 54-year history. It has listed the Congressmen it will oppose in November for their part in passing the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin "labor reform" law. Legislators who "showed courage" in opposing the law will be given full support.

The general yardstick for candidates will be the union's minimum legislative program. Support from the Teamsters will mean public endorsement and active precinct workers.

THE SENATE HEARINGS: Teamster leaders came by their decision the hard way. For years the union held to the AFL view that labor didn't belong in politics. Later, Teamster leaders took to endorsing candidates (former president Dave Beck was a Republican; his predecessor, Dan Tobin, was an F.D.R. Democrat) and the union kept a lobby in Washington and in state capitals.

But the manhandling of the union by the Senate rackets investigating committee and the passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law convinced Teamster leaders that more effective political action was necessary. Late last year the union set up a political division, fully staffed and well-financed. Political arms were also set up in each joint council. The aim is to make the union a political force in as many precincts as possible.

For the rank-and-file teamster, political action is an unfamiliar concept. Hoffa set out early this year to talk to as many union members as possible about the plan. He spoke to about 9,000 members in New York's Madison Square Garden on March 14. A 90-minute entertainment program preceded his speech. Many came to get a first look at their much-maligned leader.

COUNTER-BLAST: Hoffa spoke for almost two hours without a prepared script. He told of the "circus atmosphere" of the McClellan Committee hearings which, he said, were designed to "confuse the workers of the United States" to accept an anti-labor law. The committee's main purpose in calling witnesses, he said, was to trap them into committing perjury. A witness had no alternative to protecting himself with the Fifth Amendment, he added.

Hoffa also blamed the "Big Business-controlled" press, radio and TV for spreading the notion that unions are run by gangsters and hoodlums.

He called Kennedy - Landrum - Griffin "the law that forces you to be strikebreakers and cross picket lines." He cited nine cases in three months where the new law forced one union to violate another's strike because of its prohibitions on secondary boycotts and "hot cargo."

THE KENNEDYS: Hoffa directed much of his anger at the Kennedy brothers. He accused Jack (Sen. John F.) of using the hearings to campaign for the Presidency.

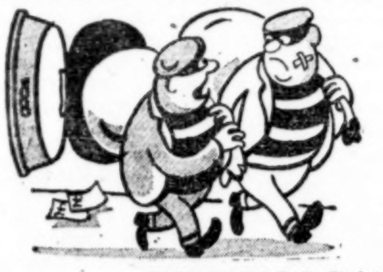
He said that Bobby (committee counsel Robert) went on the Jack Paar TV show to complain that the Teamsters had $215,000,000 in a pension fund. "What's wrong with workers having as much money as his old man?" Hoffa asked. "The only thing wrong are his figures—we're going to have $315,000,000."

Hoffa offered a "fight-back" program. It called for (1) all unions dealing with a company to negotiate simultaneous contract expirations; (2) $1.50-an-hour minimum wage; (3) a bargaining program to use the union's strength in large cities to get for Southern cities and other weak areas "what we got and what we want for all"; (4) an end to the court-appointed monitors; (5) a political action program involving the entire membership.

WHO SAID? On political action, Hoffa said: "Where does it say we must elect only millionaires, bankers and lawyers to office? As the people feel the brunt of this new law, they will join the precinct organizations and elect workers to political office.

"The only way you can maintain your standards and your children's and your grandchildren's is to get into political action as you never did before. Out of this historic meeting must come more political action."

As Hoffa spoke, the New York **Herald Tribune** was on the streets with a story of a series of memoranda it said Hoffa sent to local leaders. They laid out the union's position in each Congress race.



Eccles, London Daily Worker

"To think that only last Tuesday he was telling the unions how hard up he was."

The union's plan is flexible. It will support a Democrat or a Republican; but if both are bad, no one. The memoranda listed members of both houses with good voting records for "all-out support" in order to hold "the hard core together in pressing for early consideration of amendments to Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin."

The union will deal with the "bad actors" and "phony liberals" it wants to defeat by opposing them in primaries or by endorsing a candidate from the opposition party.

PLAN FOR DIXIE: The union's tactic in the South is unique. Although the union is opposed to segregation and has a good civil rights record, Hoffa told the New York meeting it might have to endorse segregationists because there are no other candidates. Hoffa argued that it would be a forward step to defeat incumbent Southerners in order to get them off important committee posts where they block social legislation. Eventually, he said, liberals will come forward to run in the South.

Hoffa stressed that the political program was long-range and would not change Congress overnight. But, he said, the course for the union was clear.

John Stuart, 47

THE GUARDIAN has learned belatedly of the death of John Stuart, a former foreign editor of **New Masses,** of a heart attack on Feb. 21 in New York City. He was 47 years old.

After **New Masses** suspended publication in 1947, he served as a contributing editor of **Masses & Mainstream** until September, 1956. For the past 11 years he worked first for the Polish Research and Information Service and later for the Polish Embassy in Washington.

In the mid-thirties he was co-author with the late Bruce Minton of **Men Who Lead Labor. The Education of John Reed,** a selection of Reed's writings together with a biographical sketch and a critical essay by Stuart, appeared a few years ago.

Free World Dept.

COMMUNISM is not believed to have made deep inroads among the Afghan people. The strong adherence to Islam and the severe lack of education and political enlightenment are said to have prevented it.

—New York **Times,** Feb. 14.

POLICE CLEAR WAY FOR JAMES HOFFA AFTER NEW YORK RALLY

He charted a new political course for the Brotherhood of Teamsters

'THE PIED PIPER OF THE PRINTING RATS'

The man named Bloor Schleppey and the Portland newspaper strike

SOME YEARS AGO **Time** magazine described Bloor Schleppey as a man who "breaks strikes for pay," specializing in the newspaper industry. Members of printing trades unions favor less polite sobriquets for him. "The Pied Piper of Printing Rats" is one of the more printable ones. Typographers Union president Elmer Brown says that Schleppey has cost union members hundreds of jobs. An official title for Schleppey's activities may come next month from a Pennsylvania court.

Schleppey was arrested Feb. 14 in Philadelphia on charges of violating a state law which prohibits the importation of strikebreakers. Schleppey allegedly provided scabs during newspaper strikes in Bristol and Levittown in 1958. A grand jury was to hear charges this month.

Schleppey is best known for his activities in Portland, Ore., where he provided skilled non-union craftsmen to replace the union men who have been on strike against the **Oregonian** and the Portland **Journal** since Nov. 10. The strike, which at first seemed an isolated struggle against automation, has developed into an all-out fight to save the printing trades unions.

HOW IT STARTED: The strike started at the **Oregonian,** owned by S. I. Newhouse who controls a radio-television-publishing empire that specializes in low overhead. Stereotypers walked out after management insisted that a new German-made plate-casting machine be manned when it arrived by one operator instead of four then employed. Pressmen, typographers, mailers, photo-engravers, electrical workers, machinists, building service employes, teamsters and all but 14 Newspaper Guild members refused to cross the picket line. When the **Journal,** Portland's only other paper, refused to bargain separately, it was shut down too.

The two papers joined forces to publish a single edition, called the **Oregon Journal and Oregonian,** with the help of non-union craftsmen supplied by Schleppey and his partner Shirley Klein. The paper is published at the **Oregonian's** plant. Facilities of the **Journal** are used to train local youth for jobs on the scab paper. The young people are given an aptitude test and trained by Schleppey's men. When they are proficient in their trade, they are sent to the **Oregonian** plant, freeing scabs for work elsewhere.

CIRCULATION DOWN: Union strategy is to cut the papers' circulation. Teams of strikers have gone door-to-door throughout the city urging people to cancel their subscriptions. The Interunion Newspaper Strike Committee sponsors 20 TV spot commercials a week and five five-minute radio news broadcasts every day. Union officials claim circulation has been reduced by 41%, but management insists it is only 16%.

Last month the interunion committee began publishing a weekly tabloid, the Portland **Reporter,** which is distributed free door-to-door and in supermarkets. The first issue was eight pages, but subsequent issues grew to 16 pages because of heavy advertising. The paper's current circulation is 70,000.

The strike has been generally peaceful but there have been some incidents. Five men, including a Stereotypers Union official, were indicted for bombing ten newspaper trucks on Jan. 31. The union man insists he is innocent.

WIDE SUPPORT: Five strikers were arrested on charges of violating Mayor Terry Shrunk's ban on mass picketing. Eleven college students were arrested on another occasion on the same charge.

Help for the strikers has come from a variety of West Coast unions. The largest Teamsters local in Oregon voted a $2.50 monthly assessment for the strikers; another assessed itself $3 and one voted $100 a month from the local treasury. Financial aid has also come from longshoreman, carpenter, woodworker, plumber and boilermaker locals.

Financially management is in good shape for a long fight. Strike insurance from Canadian firms provides the publishers with a large weekly stipend. The unions also fear that Newhouse wants a long strike to squeeze the **Journal.**

The strike has brought the newspaper unions closer than ever before. The AFL-CIO American Newspaper Guild, the only white collar union in the group, has stood solid with the craft unions and the craft unions have laid aside their squabbles. The ANG executive board last month laid out a legislative program for all. It called for state laws (1) to bar recruiting of strikebreakers by outside agencies; (2) abolish strike insurance and (3) require strike-bound employers to make known in "help wanted" ads that their plants are on strike.

National leaders of the newspaper unions met in Phoenix last week to plan a coordinated campaign.

THE ISSUE: Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) introduced a resolution in the Senate to authorize a Labor Committee investigation of strikebreaking and strike insurance in Portland.

Negotiations are at a standstill. There have been no sessions since Jan. 18 when management insisted on an open shop, a no-strike pledge and that non-strikers be given priority in hiring.

Typographers' president Brown summed up the issues for labor: "If newspaper competitors can combine their resources, talent and cash to completely drive unions from their plants, what is to prevent other businesses and industries from following the same pattern? . . .

"Nothing, that is, unless organized labor fights back."

THE MOST COMPLETE WELFARE STATE IN NORTH AMERICA

People are first in Saskatchewan

By Harvey O'Connor

REGINA, SASK.

ARE YOU SICK of the missile gap habble-gabble?

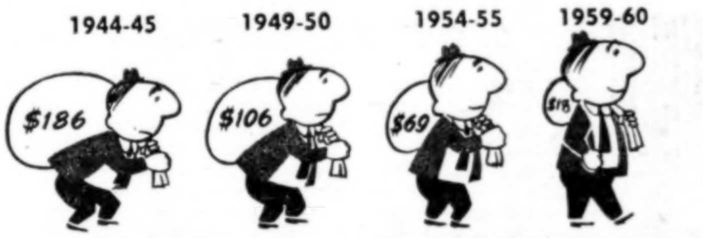
Are you tired of guessing which cold warrior will be our next President?

Are you fed up with the hypocrisy of the leaders of the free world about to jail 37 Americans because they believe in the First Amendment?

Well, you might try Saskatchewan.

The Canadian prairie province isn't paradise on earth but it is the most complete welfare state to be found in North America. In Saskatchewan "socialism" isn't a dirty word—in fact the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation government actually says it's kind of socialistic, and proud of it.

It's refreshing to step over the international boundary into a state where the top topic of conversation is socialized medicine instead of how fast and completely we can annihilate mankind. Already Saskatchewan has a socialized hospital set-up available to every man, woman and child. Not satisfied with that, the government of Premier T. C. (Tommy) Douglas is campaigning for cradle-to-grave health protection. That will be the main issue when the CCF government faces the provincial electorate in June.



HOW SASKATCHEWAN'S PER CAPITA NET DEBT IS BEING REDUCED

EXCITING STORY: If you'd like to know more about what is happening out on the wheat prairies, why not write the Dept. of Travel and Information, Legislative Annex, Regina, Sask., for your free copy of **Progress, Saskatchewan, 1960.** You'll find it the most unusual tourist promotion pamphlet you've ever read. While the department has other brochures extolling hunting, fishing and vacationing, this 76-page pamphlet deals mainly with social progress.

Here, instead of the pretty-girl-under-a-palm-tree-on-white-sands-by-the-blue-sea come-on, is the exciting story of how a farmer-labor government is trying to make life better for everybody.

The stuff is downright radical—how the provincial power grid is bringing electricity to isolated farm homes, how the co-ops are being fostered to help grain-growers, how the trappers of the North are being freed from Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, how the Government Airways reach into every community in the northern half of the province, bringing medical assistance in emergencies, how the Government Telephone system furnishes the most modern service to be found on the continent—and without old Grandma Bell cashing in.

NO DEFICIT: Curiously enough, these ventures into what Eisenhower would call "socialism" in Saskatchewan are known as Crown corporations, a bit of that odd British terminology which lingers on. All the Crown corporations make money except the Government Airways in the sparse North, maintained as an essential public service in the trackless wilderness, and that lost only $20,000 last year. The other corporations made $14,000,000 (although making money isn't their main aim in life).

This welfare state operates without a deficit (unlike Ike's private profit paradise) and has cut a debt of $155,000,000 inherited from the previous capitalistic regime, down to a mere $17,000,000, which will be wiped out pronto. The current budget of $133,000,000 (balanced!) allots $31,000,000 to schools, $26,000,000 to public health, $24,000,000 to highways, and $13,000,00 to social welfare—the leading items. I was unable to find any appropriation for an un-Saskatchewan Activities Committee.

The big excitement right now is about CCF's program for prepaid medical care, the next step in the government's program. Already hospital care is available at $17.50 a year for a single person and $35 for a family. Saskatchewan was the first to provide cobalt radiation treatment for cancer, and cancer diagnosis and treatment is available free to everyone. Free too is treatment for polio and cerebral palsy victims—and no nonsense about eternal fund drives for various diseases. More than 10,000 emergency cases in this sparsely-populated area have been cared for by the Air Ambulance service.

GREAT GAINS: Back in the Dreadful Thirties, Saskatchewan was mainly a wheat province, and wheat was selling at 32c a bushel. The province was flat broke, along with most of its citizens. It was then, as the farmers began thinking, that the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was born, with labor's help. It came to power in 1944 and has been in office ever since.

Now the one-crop days are gone as mining and manufacturing prosper with cheap power. A steel mill is being opened. The world's largest deposits of potash underlie the soil. Half the province is in timber, being developed as a crop rather than plundered. Up in the North trapping is a major enterprise; under old practices the beaver, for example, were almost exterminated. Last year 46,000 were taken.

The wheat farms have just about been completely mechanized, so much so that a farmer who does not also raise cattle, need spend only a few months of the year on his farm and the rest of the time he can live in town, if he prefers. The government, through farm credit, crop insurance and other methods, is striving to maintain the family farm against the inroads of corporation farming.

THE CO-OPS: On the South Saskatchewan River a great dam is rising 210 feet above the river floor. Costing some $200,000,000, this dam will provide water for irrigation, for urban and industrial use, for power and will create a great recreational area. The power output is calculated at 475 million kw a year—the basis for industrial expansion.

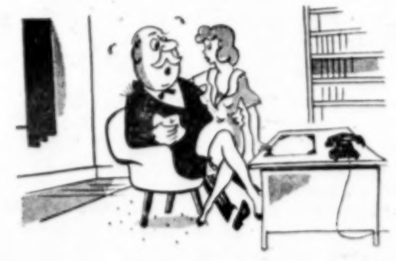
The cooperatives have increased their membership to 704,000 out of a total population of 900,00. They have assets of $271,000,000 and a yearly turnover of $560,000,000. The government has fostered co-ops for fishermen and trading stores for the Indians and Metis (French-Indian), to combat the Hudson's Bay monopoly.

In the early '30s when the price of wheat tobogganed, farmers saw they would have to cut their costs or go under. Farm co-ops started a small oil refinery in 1935—the first refinery co-op in the world—with only $32,000 paid up capital. But in the first year they cleared $65,000—so rich are the pickings in oil. By 1951 the plant was worth $10,000,000. Last year $4,000,000 was paid in patronage refunds to the co-op members, not to mention the savings caused by keeping Standard Oil's Imperial prices from soaring.

PEOPLE FIRST: The "Crown corporations" have been developed to meet needs that private enterprise wouldn't fill. The Power Corporation could make big profits—like any American utility—if it would serve only the urban areas. Instead it has extended its power lines far and wide through the farm regions. Fewer than 1,500 farms were electrified in 1948—today 50,000 have light and power, radio and home appliances. The Power Corporation also maintains a network of natural gas pipe lines, tapping both privately and publicly-owned wells.

The Transportation Company supplements the railroads by providing bus service to smaller communities which would otherwise be isolated because there's no money in it. The Telephone Company reaches to all parts of the settled country, extending service to farmers who in the States could never afford the high charges of having lines run to their homes.

The government operates an extensive insurance network. City auto owners will be interested to know that in Saskatchewan insurance is available at $5 to $40 a year, depending on the car and coverage desired. Private insurance rates that formerly ranged from $100 to $200 a year have had to tumble downward, if the insurance sharks are to remain in business at all. Funny thing is that while they have cut their rates way down, they're still making money. What a racket it must be!



[illegible] London Daily Worker

"Nationalization would abolish intimate contact between employer and employe and replace it with a soul-less bureaucracy, Miss Postlethwaite."

This article could go on and on, merely listing the progress items achieved by the CCF government in the past 16 years. But why not send for the pamphlet and read the story for yourself, in detail.

THREE WINGS: CCF, like most well-equipped political birds, comes complete with three wings. The right wing is somewhat Trumanish; the center somewhat Humphreyesque; most GUARDIAN readers would find those in the CCF left wing most companionable, in a long talk of a winter's evening before a log fire with the crisp Saskatchewan weather at a tingling 20 below. And more likely than not they would find themselves talking to other GUARDIAN readers.

PREMIER TOMMY DOUGLAS
A LaGuardia socialist

Quite a few of the citizenry are refugee farmers from the Dakotas and Montana; recently there has been a thin stream of self-exiles from the inanities and insanities of American life. This may swell, for there's something clean, honest and wholesome about being able to work full steam ahead for the public good.

Not that there isn't a good bit of struggle. The daily press is of course dead set against CCF. The coming election finds the government handicapped by having the organs of propaganda against it. The answer is personal contact, an exhausting proposition in a province so large, with only a few cities and hundreds of hamlets which must be canvassed in person.

SEE FOR YOURSELF: Back of the government stand its achievements. Premier Tommy Douglas and his cohorts are confident of success but realistic enough to know that reactioanry propaganda must be fought hard and steadily by campaigning day and night through the countryside. Frequently the Premier, after an exhausting day at his desk, drives for hours out into the countryside to some hamlet where a dozen or a score of people gather to talk over problems of the world, the Dominion, the province and the hamlet with him. An extraordinary dynamo, Premier Douglas is undoubtedly one of the great democratic leaders of this continent—almost without parallel one might say with any political leader south of the border. Perhaps LaGuardia is his closest counterpart, except that Tommy Douglas says of himself that he is a Socialist.

If this review of life on the prairies sounds a bit out of this world, why not see for yourself? Saskatchewan has everything for a summer's vacation, including people's camps which house and feed you for $4.50 a day. And lakes, boats, golf, fishing, forests, wilderness, big game hunting. When you write for the Progress pamphlet, ask also for a copy of the Recreation pamphlet.

A bill of rights with teeth

SASKATCHEWAN has a Bill of Rights providing equal rights for all—and stiff penalties for those who dare to violate them. Discrimination in hotels, restaurants and other public places is barred, as well as discrimination in employment.

All workers, including provincial and municipal employes, have the right to organize and bargain collectively. Labor board elections are rare as a majority of signatures on a petition is enough to obtain certification for unions. Company unions and injunctions are outlawed.

Saskatchewan is the only province in the Dominion with a Bill of Rights and perhaps the only area in North America where a bill of rights is accompanied by specific penalties and explicit enforcement.

The alliance of workers and farmers for progress is to be cemented this summer when the national Cooperative Commonwealth Federations, the Canadian Congress of Labor (AFL-CIO) and other groups join to form a new Canadian party.

Dr. Jagan of British Guiana speaks in New York April 1

DR. CHEDDI B. JAGAN, majority party leader and Minister of Trade and Industry of British Guiana, will speak at a reception and rally for the Caribbean League of America on Friday, April 1, 8:00 p.m., at the United Mutual Life Insurance Auditorium, 310 Lenox Ave., New York City.

Dr. Jagan heads a British Guiana eight-man constitutional delegation now in London to discuss constitutional reform with the British Secretary of State for the Colonies. He is seeking independence for British Guiana within the British Commonwealth.

FOR THE VICTIMS: 'WE COME NOT TO CRY, BUT TO PROTEST'

How one Cuban city reacted to the ship blast

By Joanne Grant

HAVANA MOURNERS WATCH A HEARSE BEARING A VICTIM OF THE MUNITIONS SHIP EXPLOSION

THESE THREE HOLD BRAND NEW DEEDS TO LAND BEING DISTRIBUTED IN THE REFORM PROGRAM

SANTIAGO DE CUBA

FROM THE TOP of every hilly street in this capital of Oriente province where Castro's revolution began, one can see the foothills of the Sierra Maestra mountains which ring the city. This quiet, sunny city of 200,000 saw more of the fighting and destruction than did any other part of Cuba. It was here that Castro launched his famous attack on Fort Moncada. The nearby Sierra Cristal mountains sheltered Raul Castro and the famous second front.

The tradition of the Cuban fight for freedom is strong in Santiago, where the statue of Jose Marti, Cuba's national hero, looks out through pale yellow columns from the rotunda above his tomb. Thousands of silent marchers assembled in front of the tomb, and the longshoremen's union laid a wreath at Marti's feet—a wreath for those killed in Havana's harbor disaster, less than 24 hours before.

The president of the union said: "The arms destroyed were bought with the dimes of children and a day's pay of the workers. If necessary, we will give 50 days' pay. Down with the latifundistas, Viva la Revolucion."

Sergio Valente of the Workers' Federation of Oriente province said: "We have not come to cry, but to protest."

CROWD RESPONDS: With every mention of "Cuba Libre," every call for more militias, more peasant patrols, more unity, more contributions, the crowd was silent no more.

"Could anyone give more to the people than what is being given by the revolution?" asked Casto Amador, the provincial coordinator of the 26th of July Movement. "No," shouted the crowd. "We have justice, the right to education, bread," Amador said. "Is there a stronger principle than that the worker must earn a decent salary, must be able to educate his family? Could anyone give us more?"

"No," cried the crowd.

The Popular Socialist (Communist) party speaker said: "We must have a solid wall of all the Latin American people and all of the people of the United States who repudiate this aggression," and the crowd applauded. "We must give another day's salary," he said. Voices in the crowd yelled: "And more!"

This gathering, like those in all the other cities of Cuba, was a demonstration of unity and of preparedness.

THE PEOPLE GIVE: In Havana the funeral lasted all day, and for several days afterward demonstrations to collect money for more arms and planes were almost continuous. A television station conducted a marathon broadcast on the Prado, the main street of the city. Children in the Patrullas Juveniles and the Boy Scouts stopped city buses and went through them asking for donations. The Socialist Youth band marched from 3 p.m. to 10 carrying a huge Cuban flag which was heaped with money several times over. People are giving old gold to be melted down for the government's use.

Most Cubans are convinced the explosion was sabotage. Most are certain that a combination of landowners and foreign imperialists are ranged against them. Whether or not these elements are responsible for the explosion, the Cuban people are reacting as if they were. Cuba needs more arms and planes and the people are giving their pennies to buy them. "Either Cuba is free and sovereign, or we will all die," they say.

Americans find it hard to believe that Cubans seriously think the United States had anything to do with the tragedy that cost nearly 100 lives and the arms they feel are so needed. But to Cubans there are many unanswered questions.

Why cut the sugar quota, now? Why not extradite the Batista henchmen? Why do the planes come from Florida?

SABOTAGE IS REAL: To the Cuban people these are all related questions. More than 15,000,000 arrobas (25 lbs.) of sugar cane have been burned in Camaguey, more than 10,000,000 in Santa Clara. Much of this cane has been fired from planes. There has been sabotage in industry—still on a small scale, but it exists.

All of this is connected in the minds of the people with the explosion in Havana harbor. Everyone knows that the U.S. does not want arms to go to Cuba, and when American newspapers compare the ship explosion to the situation in Guatemala just prior to the fall of Arbenz, the Cuban people wonder what next.

Cuban newspapers call the reduction in the sugar quota "economic aggression" and people speak of it in those terms.

There have been other things. A week before the ship explosion all U.S. agricultural inspectors were recalled from Havana. Ordinarily these inspectors looked over Cuban exports before the produce left Havana to see if they were up to U.S. standards. Now the inspectors do their work in New Orleans after the Cuban shipments arrive. Rejected shipments are lost because produce can't be shipped back to Cuba, and the cost of transport is a drain on the Cuban economy.

All of these things form a pattern for the average Cuban, who is extremely politically-conscious. Everyone with whom one speaks knows that the interests of the former large landowners coincided with the interests of Batista. Everyone knows the landowners are against the revolution. A fisherman in a small town 100 miles from Havana, when asked if he had heard talk of a reduction in the sugar quota, said: "I know everything that's going on."

AT THE READY: The farmers, the workers, the students, the rebels know certain facts from their daily living. Batista and his supporters meant killings, torture, suffering. The revolution means lower prices, higher wages, a chance to work, freedom from fear. A Cuban-American, home on a visit after more than two years, couldn't get over the simple fact that he could go out into the street at night. It's as simple as that.

The people know who the enemy of the revolution is and they know what harms it. They assume that those who are against the revolution are responsible for the explosion of the ship. Nothing will convince them of American innocence short of answers to their unanswered questions.

But the Cubans are not certain of getting answers.

A NEW COOPERATIVE STORE AT MATANZAS

The hero sandwiches are fit for a free people

All that has happened may be a prelude, so they are ready. Almost every Cuban is in the militia or has been trained to use arms. Many Cubans wear a symbol of their feeling—a pin in the shape of a rifle with the words "Que Vengan" (Let them come) on it. It goes with the popular slogan: "Peace in our hearts, and guns in our hands."

Permanent deep freeze

TAIPEI, Formosa (AP)—The National Assembly today cleared the way for Chiang Kai-shek's election to a third six-year term as president of Nationalist China.

The assembly froze operation of a constitutional article limiting a president and vice-president to two terms. The article will remain in abeyance until the Nationalist regime regains control of the Chinese mainland.

—**Evening Tribune**, San Diego, Calif.

WHAT EISENHOWER DIDN'T SEE

Frondizi uses 'internal war' law to quell Argentine unrest

LESS THAN three weeks after President Eisenhower in Buenos Aires eulogized "the inspired leadership" of Arturo Frondizi, the Argentine President was hanging onto his political life by a hair's breadth. Frondizi kept his office on March 15 by placing his country on a footing of "internal war"—invoking a Peronist law which provides the death penalty for anyone accused of sabotage, terrorism or rebellion.

Frondizi took this drastic step to forestall political disaster on March 27 when Argentines go to the polls to elect one-half of the National Congress. To crush nationwide popular opposition, the armed forces last week began a sweeping round-up of political and labor leaders; jails already filled with political prisoners overflowed.

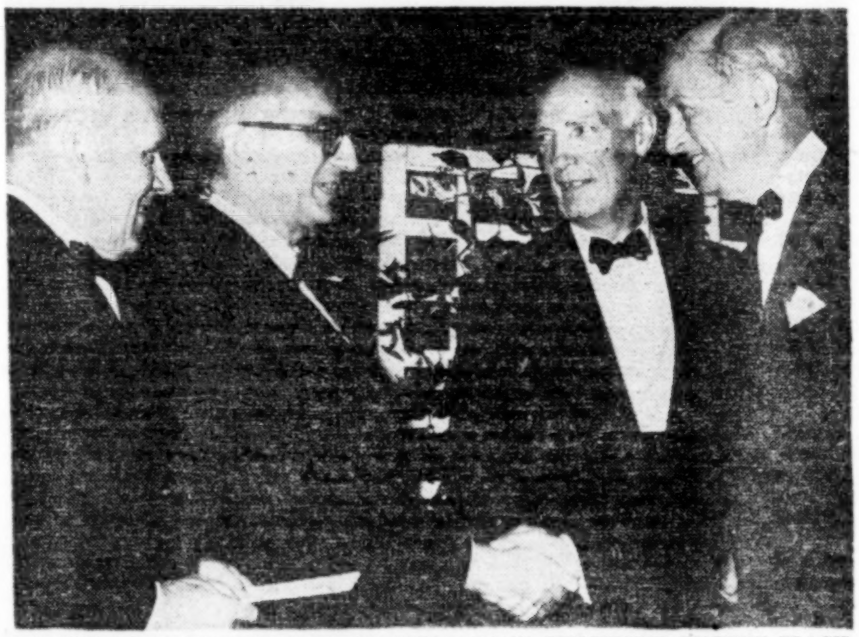
ON THE HOT SEAT: Opposition to Frondizi and the army's hankering for power were foreshadowed even when Eisenhower was benignly smiling during a reception which was officially warm and publicly cool. N.Y. **Herald Tribune** correspondent Joseph Newman reported (March 13) that when Eisenhower rode through Buenos Aires, "little did he realize that the person sitting beside him, his host, President Frondizi, was the most unpopular man in the country and that scarcely below the surface of ground the fires of revolution and violence were again being stoked."

While the two Presidents "were beaming" for the photographers, Newman wrote the Argentine army was readying an ultimatum to Frondizi; trade unions were preparing to strike to unfreeze wages to meet skyrocketing price increases, and opposition leaders, "representing roughly 70% of the electorate, were roasting" Frondizi in public speeches. Newman said of Frondizi: "Seldom has a man smiled so broadly when he had so little reason to smile."

PHONY PROMISES: Frondizi's decline in popularity has been as swift as his rise. Two years ago he was swept into office on a platform of public control of basic industries, especially oil; land reform; agricultural and industrial diversification, and foreign trade without political considerations. The people believed him, for he had preached his platform in his famous book **Petroleum and Politics**. But it turned out that during the election campaign he was secretly playing footsie with U.S. oil concerns and in less than a year the book had disappeared from Buenos Aires stores.

Argentina is second in size in Latin America only to Brazil. It is rich in resources, with a population of 20,000,000 and vast wealth concentrated in the hands of the land and cattle ranch owners.

If Frondizi had pushed through land reform, husbanded the country's wealth and resources with determination and shopped judiciously for trade, credit and aid, he might have fulfilled his platform pledges. Instead, facing entrenched landlords, the flight of domestic capital and rising inflation, he reached out his palm to Washington. In return for U.S. loans and aid, he handed over fat concessions to Standard Oil of Indiana, Shell, Standard of California and a group backed by Carl M. Loeb, Rhoades & Co., New York investment bankers.



FRONDIZI SHAKES HANDS WITH WORLD BANK PRESIDENT EUGENE BLACK
Looking on are John J. McCloy, board chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank (l.), and Howard C. Shepherd, chairman of the First National City Bank (2nd, right).

ARE THEY LEGAL? The oil concessions were directly contrary to popular sentiment throughout Latin America, which looks upon foreign control of oil as the symbol of imperialism. Besides, most impartial Argentines believe the contracts violated the constitutional guarantee of public ownership of oil, and were therefore illegal.

Frondizi's argument was that these concessions would increase production and save Argentina the $2-300,000,000 it now spends on oil imports; but his critics countered that, with proper planning, Argentina could have developed its oil resources itself by importing machinery and experts—if not from the U.S., then from Eastern Europe, as other underdeveloped countries have done.

In the last two years the U.S. government, the Intl. Monetary Fund, and private banks have extended $553,500,000 in credit to Argentina, and U.S. concerns have invested $680,000,000, mostly in oil, some in petrochemicals and in cattle ranches. (Texas' King Cattle, ousted from Cuba, has gone to Argentina.) For this largest flow of U.S. capital to a Latin American country in such a short time—Eisenhower called it "the most intensive program of financial cooperation to have been carried out in the history of the Hemisphere"—Frondizi had to create the "proper climate" and accept the Monetary Fund's advice for an "austerity" program.

PRICES SOARING: Argentina candidly demonstrates that the "financial cooperation" constantly urged by Eisenhower brings no benefit whatever to the underdeveloped cooperator. The Argentine standard of living has dropped sharply as the cost of living has risen to dizzy heights.

Since 1955 the price of bread has increased by eight times, eggs nine, milk 16, lettuce 18, sugar five and corn cooking oil six. The sharpest increases have occurred in the last two years. Once the biggest consumers of beefsteak, Argentines today are woefully underfed. Economics Minister Alvaro Alsogaray, the **Wall Street Journal** said (Feb. 26), "has to dodge crowds of housewives demonstrating in protest against high prices."

GOOD BEHAVIOR: Frondizi's opponent, Crisologo Larralde of the middle-class People's Radical Party, recently said that the austerity program has created severe unemployment as it has depressed living standards. In the last year, 55,000 textile workers, 150,000 construction workers and untold numbers in the cotton, lumber, food and glass industries have lost their jobs. Larralde's colleague, Francisco Rabanal, described in a speech what was behind the Monetary Fund's advice to Frondizi:

"The Fund wants good behavior. That means to liquidate unions, accept foreign capital, keep labor leaders in prison. Frondizi [has] suspended constitutional rights so he can arrest strike leaders without court order, and jail them indefinitely, turn over oilfields to [foreign] corporations and surrender military bases to the U.S. If that's good conduct, I will settle for the bad conduct of the Argentine workers."

THE WIDENING GAP: Today Frondizi is talking of turning over such public utilities as the bus and transportation services to private companies, even as the Congress opposition leader Anselmo Marini promises an unceasing fight against foreign concessions "whose disastrous consequences were forewarned by all sectors." Port and meat-packing workers are planning strikes. The gulf between rich and poor increases—"a gap," Colombia's Ambassador to Italy German Arciniegas said, "like the one between the Court of the Czars and the Russian peasants."

Frondizi is frantically seeking more U.S. aid. The army, in cahoots with the giant landowners ("gorilas"), threatens his overthrow if he does not crack down harder on the unions. The navy, which recently staged a phony submarine scare to force an increase in its budget, also threatens. Behind the scenes stands Gen. Pedro Aramburu, head of the military regime after Peron's departure, holding a wet finger to the wind, telling the officers to bide their time.

One of Aramburu's key men, watching Frondizi squirming, told correspondent Newman (March 17): "Frondizi wanted to be President, and now he is sentenced to a six-year term. He's going to have to sit there whether he likes it or not."

Student protests

(Continued from Page 1)

lines in front of Woolworth stores.

- Meetings in Negro and white churches across the country.
- A cultural subcommittee, headed by Harry Belafonte, will lay a wreath at the foot of the Statue of Liberty. Committee members include Dorothy Dandridge, Lena Horne, Mahalia Jackson, Ruby Dee, Sidney Poitier and John Killens. Nat King Cole raised $10,000 in a week.

Contributions should be sent to the King Defense Fund, 312 W. 125 St., N.Y.C.

IKE ALOOF: White support for the demonstrators has also come further into the open. In the South white students more readily joined Negroes on the line. White ministers and laymen made public announcements of support. In Winston-Salem, N.C., the Forsyth Ministers Fellowship joined Unitarians in a statement of "sympathy and admiration."

The Board of Directors of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, organized two months ago in Raleigh, N.C., commended the demonstrators and called for "similar visible objections" to discrimination in churches.

Dr. Frank P. Graham, former U.S. Senator from North Carolina, told 75 Methodist students from 15 Virginia colleges that Negro youth are "in their day and generation renewing the springs of American democracy."

Kind words from Washington were harder to come by. President Eisenhower at a press conference acknowledged that peaceful demonstrations for constitutional rights were "unquestionably proper." But he saw no role for himself in calling a bi-racial conference. He suggested such conferences for the South.

GOVERNORS THREATEN: In attempting to reach Vice President Nixon for comment, the New York **Amsterdam News** was told that he was "out of town and unable to be reached." The President's office also had no further comment.

Die-hard racists in Southern state and local office have been the slowest to react. They seemed to feel a show of muscle would end the demonstrations and then all could return to the even tenor of the "Southern way of life." Governors John Patterson of Alabama, Luther Hodges of North Carolina and Ernest Vandiver of Georgia warned that continued demonstrations would lead to "trouble." Patterson hinted strongly that the trouble would be violent. In Birmingham, Ala., Police Commissioner "Bull" Connor trained firemen in riot tactics.

But Florida's Gov. LeRoy Collins seemed to sense a new Southern wind. In a state-wide television speech on March 20 he said: "I don't mind saying that if a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come in his department store and trade, I think then it is unfair and morally wrong for him to single out one department . . . and say he does not want Negroes to patronize that one department."

'FILL THE JAILS': On the front line, Southern courts were helping Negro students keep their pledge to "fill the jails if necessary." In Orangeburg, S.C., 1,000 Negro students from South Carolina A&T and Claflin College marched quietly in the streets on March 15. When they refused to disperse fire hoses were turned on them and tear gas bombs exploded. A hose knocked down a blind 17-year-old girl. Tear gas partially blinded another student. Police arrested 350 students and herded them into a barbed wire stockade outside the county courthouse. Many were drenched but they were forced to stand for hours in the unseasonable cold until they were released on bond.

On the same day 70 students were arrested in Rock Hill, S.C., and ten in Columbia.

In Atlanta, Ga., 79 Negroes were arrested after demonstrations in a dozen eating places. One was Rev. A. D. King, brother of Rev. Martin Luther King. They were charged with violating three laws: (1) a recently enacted anti-trespass law; (2) breach of peace and (3) the state Anti-Mask Act originally aimed at the Ku Klux Klan.

LITTLE ROCK: Jailings increased in other cities too, but demonstrations continued and some appeared in new places. Seven students from Atlanta University saw a performance of "My Fair Lady" from the front, center section, reserved for whites. When they refused to move, ushers roped off the area and hung a sign, "Negro section." Whites took seats in other parts of the theater.

In Little Rock, Ark., 48 students demonstrated at lunch counters for the first time. Five were arrested at a Woolworth store. When L.C. Bates, who with his wife, Daisy, is the mainstay of the NAACP there, came to post bail, Police Chief Eugene Smith asked him: "What's the NAACP trying to do?" He added that it was "not right" to start demonstrations in Little Rock. Bates answered: "A lot of things are not right in Little Rock."

Some things were not right with Smith who headed the police during the school riots. On March 19 he shot his wife three times and then put a bullet through his own head.

Quote of the week

Khrushchev's reception should be icy but not hostile. —**Figaro, Paris**

BOOKS

Studies on the Left

IN VIEW of the frank title of the new quarterly published by graduate students at the University of Wisconsin, **Studies on the Left***, one of the most in-interesting aspects of Volume 1 Number 1 is who is doing the studying.

- A professor in economics in a N. Y. State Teachers College contributes a careful and most respectful appraisal of Joseph Gillman's **The Falling Rate of Profit**, in which the author introduces his modern formula for this classic Marxian law of capitalist development.

- A Columbia law student takes a resounding whack at what he calls the literary prophets of the "beat middle class" such as Jack Kerouac, James Gould Cozzens and J. D. Salinger, whose **Catcher in the Rye** he characterizes as "a beat allegory of the middle-class American reconciling himself to a nonsensical existence."

- A Wisconsin sociology professor and a graduate student of history collaborate on a study of the struggle in the field of sociology to keep the new (150-year-old) "science of society" in step with history, and on its originally-conceived job of studying the substance of society, rather than its fads.

- A William College professor discusses most approvingly historian William Appleman Williams' **The Tragedy of American Foreign Policy;** and a Wake Forest (Ill.) history teacher carefully analyzes U.S. capitalism's 30-year struggle (a losing struggle, the writer shows) for world markets to save the system from stagnation and worse at home.

- And a free-lance journalist, in a most enjoyable retrospective politico-literary excursion, cautions against current snap judgments of Khrushchev with a reminder of Matthew Arnold's judgment of nearly a century ago that Lincoln, although "shrewd, sagacious, humorous, honest, courageous, firm" etc., "has not distinction."

TWO EXCELLENT essays, "The Radicalism of Disclosure" and "Objectivity and Commitment," challenge the misuse of the concept of objectivity to bar Marxist scholarship from academic life. Two documentary articles dig into the origins of "Manifest Destiny," the Open Door Policy and American imperialism. One interesting find is a 1900 version of the **Star Spangled Banner** urging that

> . . . the Star Spangled Banner in
> triumph be waved
> O'er the lands we have freed and the
> peoples we've saved.

Among the book reviews, a social science instructor at Wright Junior College, Chicago, acknowledges the worth of Joseph Dorfman's **The Economic Mind in American Civilization** (Vols. 4 & 5 of which were published last year by Viking Press) as a compendium and guide to source material, but criticizes the work as "more catalogue than history" because of its failure to provide "a causal description of the emergence and passing away of ideas and ideologies." Historian Herbert Aptheker characterizes Vance Packard's **The Status Seekers** as "a level of social criticism . . . surpassed by the muckrakers of 60 years ago" who, Dr. Aptheker asserts, "were inadequate even then." Dr. Albert E. Blumberg has the last word in Volume 1 Number 1 in his critique of Hannah Arendt's **The Human Condition**: A Study of the Central Dilemmas Facing Modern Man.

"No sterile orthodoxy should be permitted to block the path of inquiry into new situations," Dr. Blumberg says, and adds: "The philosophic guide to such inquiry will not spring from a naive scientism. Nor will it be provided by Miss Arendt's anti-scientific obscurantism.

"We shall more likely find it in a new scientific humanism—a humanism that will incorporate and build on the substance of the democratic traditions of scientific socialism."

—**John T. McManus**

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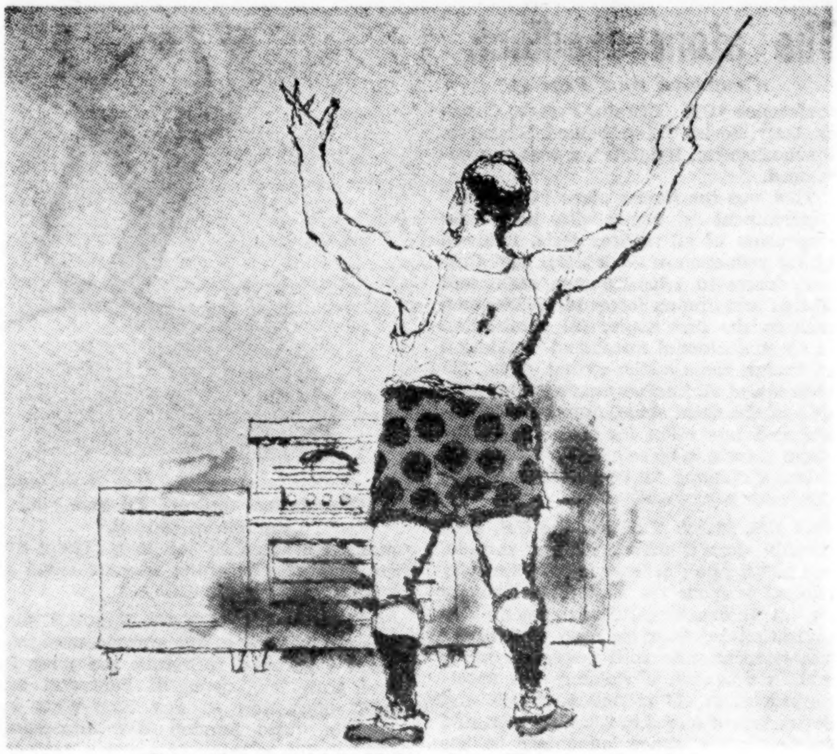

From the pamphlet, Middle Age—Threat or Promise?

A best buy

A YEAR-ROUND best buy in pamphlets is the output of the Public Affairs Committee, a non-profit educational organization founded in 1935 "to develop new techniques to educate the American public on vital economic and social problems." Its officers include Erling M. Hunt, chairman; Telford Taylor, vice-chairman; and Maxwell S. Stewart, secretary and editor of Public Affairs Pamphlets.

The pamphlets issue once a month or oftener at 25c each or may be subscribed to at $3 for 15 issues, $5 for 30, $7 for 45. A wide selection of previous issues is listed inside the back of each pamphlet, disclosing that such issues as No. 85, **The Races of Mankind**, No. 69, **Vitamins and Health**, and No. 38, **The Facts About Cancer**, are still available.

Since the last one mentioned in the GUARDIAN, No. 282, **The Unmarried Mother**, issues have included No. 283, **Making Medical Care Better**; No. 284, **Group Methods in Therapy**; No. 285, **Your Children's Friends**; No. 286, **When a Family Faces Cancer**; No. 287, **The One Parent Family**; No. 288, **How Retarded Children Can Be Helped**; No. 289, **The Taxes We Pay**; No. 290, **What makes a Marriage Happy?**; No. 291, **Your Child May Be a Gifted Child**; and, the first in 1960, No. 292, **Venereal Disease, Old Plague—New Challenge**

Other Public Affairs pamphlets issued thus far this year are No. 293, **The Only Child**; and No. 294, **Middle Age—Threat or Promise.**

The VD pamphlet, by T. Lefoy Richman of the American Social Health Association, discloses an annual VD infection rate of 200,000 individuals under 20, with fewer than 50,000 reported in any one year. The author relates the rising rate of incidence of VD to other symptoms of social maladjustment and asserts that the prostitute is being widely displaced as a VD spreader. Although penicillin has proved a "spectacular" combatant of VD, its use is limited by the low detection rate. A program is outlined involving physicians and a new kind of health worker, the VD investigator, to seek to obtain 100% reporting of infection.

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The atom deadlock

(Continued from Page 1)

conference (U.S., Britain, France, Canada, Italy, Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria), a vast gap developed.

This was the Soviet plan: "Complete" disarmament to begin with immediate suspension of all nuclear tests, followed by (1) reduction of Soviet, U.S. and Chinese forces to 1,700,000 men each, and British and French forces to 650,000 men each in the first stage; (2) elimination of all conventional forces and liquidation of foreign bases in the second stage; (3) abolition of all nuclear weapons and missiles in the third stage. Appropriate control and inspection for each stage; the entire process to be completed within four years. Violations to be reported to the UN Security Council.

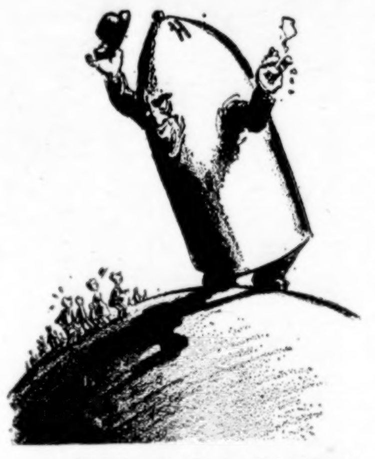
THE U.S. PLAN: This was the U.S. plan (hastily worked out at the last minute, and making no reference to a preliminary nuclear weapons test ban): Top priority for an International Disarmament Organization to supervise each step in its disarmament plan with powers to apply sanctions against a violator. The specific proposals: (1) reduction of U.S. and Soviet armed forces to 2,500,000 men and notification of space launchings to the IDO in the first stage; (2) in the second stage, reduction of the same forces to 2,100,000 men each; establishment of armed forces levels for smaller powers; ban on the use of space vehicles for nuclear weapons; no production of fissionable material for nuclear weapons, and reduction of nuclear stockpiles; (3) reduction of armed forces to levels needed for internal security and elimination of nuclear weapons and military missiles in the third stage.

To stimulate disarmament negotiations Moscow on March 21 made another dramatic offer: to transfer abolition of nuclear weapons from the last to the first stage in order to meet Western objections that the Soviet timetable "would put nuclear controls into effect only after the nations had been left without other defenses" (N.Y. **Times**, March 22).

CHINA? WHAT'S THAT? The U.S. proposal ignored China. At his March 16 press conference the President said "there has to be a very great deal of progress before we are into the stage of worrying too much about Red China."

Further, the West's figures for armed forces in the first stage, in the light of reductions already announced by Moscow, would actually call for an increase of 50,000 in the Soviet armed forces.

There was no time limit in the U.S. plan, which did not even recognize the Soviet proposal for a neutralized, atom-free zone in Central Europe as a temporary measure, if disarmament talks remained deadlocked too long. There was no hint of abolishing foreign bases at any foreseeable time.



Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Population control? I'll give you population control."

"PATCHWORK QUILT": The U.S. plan was a rejuggling of bits and pieces of previous proposals, reflecting the powerful and thus far successful Pentagon and AEC opposition to any East-West relaxation. The London **New Statesman** (March 19) called it "a vague patchwork quilt, hastily stitched together over the weekend, to ensure that the West should not go entirely naked into the council chamber." Its indefinite duration would offer infinite opportunities for stalling tactics, diversion and sabotage.

The Soviet March 19 concession offered a precedent to solve the deadlock. Moscow's proposal has been favored in the past by Britain and by Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.). It need not be difficult to agree on such a treaty, since, as the New York **Times** said (March 20), the three conferees had already reached "a respectable amount of agreement on the mechanism of the treaty."

TELLER VS. THE PEOPLE: What would the official U.S. response be to the latest Soviet concession?

Recent statements — by Dr. Edward Teller, University of California physicist and proponent of unrestricted underground tests to develop "cleaner" weapons, and by Deputy Defense Secy. James Douglas—gave some indication.

Teller said on March 17, when the Soviet concession was already being predicted in the press, that underground nuclear test explosions of 20 kiloton range and over could be muffled in cavities smaller than the "Big Hole" and therefore could go undetected.

Douglas said on March 20 that it was "contrary to our position" to accept a moratorium on undetectable underground tests.

"THEY CAN WAIT": Others, however, urged the U.S. to accept without delay. Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College faculty members recently wrote Secy. Herter in favor of a test ban. David Inglis, senior physicist at Argonne National Laboratory, wrote in the **New Republic** (March 7) that a test ban should not be held up by U.S "project ploughshare—a collection of non-military plans requiring atomic explosions." Inglis said:

"They can wait until after we achieve a test ban, after which we can try to arrange for them on an international basis. Who really cares much whether we melt oil tars right now, when any stock broker will tell us there is a surplus of oil, or whether we hurry to extend the neutron-time-of-flight measurements from our atomic laboratories to higher energies at our proving grounds? . . . The present opportunity to increase our security by an effective test ban is unprecedented—and fleeting."

And a large group of representative Americans signed a statement sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, which said:

"A universal treaty ending all nuclear tests would represent a solid first step toward disarmament . . . and establish precedents for further progress."

SUPREME COURT ACCEPTS NIUKKANEN BRIEF

Deportation cases involving two of Finnish birth argued

AN AMICUS CURIAE brief by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been accepted by the Supreme Court in support of the appeal of William Niukkanen from an order of deportation. The case was argued before the court March 21 by attorneys Joseph Forer and Nels Peterson.

Brought to this country by his parents when ten months old in 1909, and a legal permanent resident since, Niukkanen has been known in all his adult years as William Mackie, the name by which his case has been referred to in previous GUARDIAN articles. He served in World War II, is married to a citizen and lives in Portland, Ore.

He was arrested in 1952 for deportation on charges which he has always denied, of having been a Communist in 1937-39. On testimony of two witnesses without corroborating documentary evidence he was ordered deported. In the ACPFB **amicus curiae** brief supporting his appeal, attorneys Blanch Freedman and Ira Gollobin argued that Mackie did not receive due process and that the statutory requirement of "clear, convincing and unequivocal evidence" was not met.

THE LAHTINEN CASE: Another deportation case involving a U.S. resident of Finnish birth, brought here by his parents in 1914, is now before the Board of Immigration Appeals, where it has been argued by attorney Gollobin.

The case is that of William Lahtinen, Finnish-language journalist, farm expert, poet and New York correspondent for **Tyomies Eteenpan**, published in Superior, Wis. Lahtinen was 13 when he came to this country. His parents bought a small farm in upstate New York. He had only one year of schooling, and educated himself with public library books and agricultural pamphlets from Cornell University and the Dept. of Agriculture.

He joined the **Eteenpan** staff in 1932. At about the same time he joined the Finnish Workers Federation, which went out of existence in 1940. Lahtinen left the organization in 1939. Later many members of the FWF joined the International Workers Order, the fraternal and insurance organization ordered disbanded during the middle 1950's by the N.Y. State insurance department.

TWO HEART ATTACKS: Lahtinen applied for citizenship in 1942, but his application was not acted upon. In March, 1958, he was served with an order to show cause why he should not be deported, on grounds that he had been a member of the FWF, which was said by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to have been affiliated with the Communist Party.

Lahtinen suffered two heart attacks during the hearings, which were concluded in his absence. During the hearings the government presented translations of Lahtinen's writings, including his poetry, although his writings were not at issue in the proceedings. His deportation was ordered on testimony of a series of witnesses, the bulk of whose testimony was devoted to trying to prove, nearly 20 years after the organization had disbanded, that FWF was a leftwing organization.

Lahtinen's attorney argued before the Board of Immigration Appeals that the government had refused to recall its witnesses for cross-examination when their testimony was shown to be contradictory to previous statements made to Immigration officials; and that Lahtinen had been unable to testify because of his heart condition. If the appeal is denied the case will be taken to the courts.

Funds may be sent to the Lahtinen Defense Committee, Box 107, Triborough Station, New York 35.

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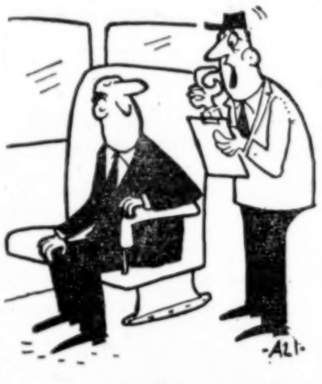
THE GALLERY

MRS. W. H. DONNAN, wife of the rector of Eriswell, England, rode on a pony at the head of a column of 350 protest marchers March 6 from Feltwell to the American air base at Lakenheath. The 14-mile march was organized by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Two of the marchers walked barefoot and Mr. and Mrs. D. Smart wheeled their baby in a carriage. On the same day, more than 1,000 persons protested at another American base in Wethersfield . . . . Meanwhile in New York, former general John J. McCloy, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, urged state banking associations to make realistic disaster plans to carry on banking operations in case of nuclear attack . . . . An ad in the Oklahoma City **North Star** read: "We specialize in the World's Most Beautiful Patio-Top Storm Cellar and Fall Out Shelter—Guaranteed Dry." . . . In the same city Princess Catherine Caradja of Rumania, who came here in 1952, told a meeting of the 95th Division reservists: "I am not afraid you will not stand up and fight a war with Russia. What I am afraid of is that there will not ever be a war." . . . Columnist Joe Newman in the Cleveland **Press** commented: "What a world! We plot for conferences, fight for disarmament and arm for peace!" . . . Paul Light (no relation) printed this "sick Mother Goose" poem in the St. Paul **Pioneer Press:** Rock-a-bye baby/ On the tree top/ When the bomb bursts/ The cradle will rock/ When the flash comes/ The cradle just melts;/ So its bye-bye to baby/ And everyone else."

THE CANADIAN Medical Assn. **Journal** reported that a cancer study by two doctors who collected 6,428 cigarette butts reached these tentative conclusions: Butts found in department store washrooms tend to be longer than those found in airport, railway and bus depots. The average filter-tip butt is longer than the average non-filter butt. Butts of the upper class are bigger than those of the middle and lower classes. **Healthways** advises people suffering from insomnia not to worry about it—"It's not a catastrophe." The magazine says "make insomnia fun" and "do something really useful with the time." Aristotle, the publication recalls, complained that he wasted time sleeping. People have turned their insomnia hours to profit, it adds. One woman kept an easel and canvas near the bed and did her best work at night. A young man began to write a novel. After two years of insomnia he finished the book and got it published . . . James A. Farley said: "I rate Washington, Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt in that order. But Harry Truman is the man whom historians will number among the great."



The Signalman's Journal
"Good heavens! You're right! I'M on the wrong train!"

WILLIAM RODRIQUEZ, 24, died in Chicago last month of an overdose of credit. He was born in Puerto Rico and came here ten years ago. He married and had four children. He earned $60 a week as an order filler at Sears, Roebuck & Co. but $87.50 a month went to pay rent for his tenement apartment. Among other debts, at the time of his death, he owed $167 on a second-hand TV set he bought for $200. The set was actually worth $25. He also owed $34 for a bedspread that a salesman had left in the apartment over Mrs. Rodriquez's objections to "hold until he returned." The company later threatened to attach Rodriquez's wages unless the bill was paid. One Friday morning last month, as he left for work, Rodriquez said to his wife: "Why should I work for nothing." He didn't come home until 2:30 a.m. Saturday. He was sick, having convulsions. He told his wife he had bought rat poison and eaten it on the way home. He was taken to the hospital but he died in two hours. His creditors hoped to get paid from his life insurance policy. . . . A London **Daily Worker** correspondent reports that the crime rate in the U.S.S.R. has fallen and many prisons are being converted. He also says that there is serious criticism in the Moscow press of the Soviet civil marriage ceremony. It seems that when a couple goes to a marriage bureau they are "sternly warned" that they cannot be married if one or both are already married, or if one or both are of "weak or unsound mind," or if they are close relatives. They are also reminded that the Criminal Code provides stiff penalties for false answers. One Moscow paper commented: "A fine sort of wedding present."

—**Robert E. Light**

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Volume I (**THE BABY SITTERS: Folk Songs for Babies, Small Children, Baby Sitters and Parents, GBS $3.75**) was characterized by the N. Y. **Times,** the **New Yorker** and the **Christian Science Monitor** respectively as "lighthearted, uninhibited fun," "charming" and "thoroughly delightful." GBS goes even further: We think it's **indispensable** in households with members under six. Yours as usual at a big saving for **$3.75**

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the SPECTATOR

Voices in Montgomery

Montgomery, Ala., is known as the "cradle of the Confederacy" but it is also the birthplace of non-violent resistance to segregation by Negroes. Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. led the city's Negroes in a bus boycott in 1956 against jimcrow seating.

During the current sitdown protests Montgomery has witnessed some dramatic incidents. More than 1,000 Negro students from Alabama State College staged a silent demonstration at the state capitol after a group had been refused service at the courthouse lunchroom. Nine student leaders were expelled. A prayer meeting was broken up by city police.

The March 21 issue of U.S. News & World Report *contains revealing interviews with white and Negro Montgomery residents and a copyrighted interview with Rev. King. Below are excerpts:*

GOV. JOHN PATTERSON: Under the laws of this state, a store owner can refuse service to anyone he doesn't wish to serve. . . . The important thing to remember is that these demonstrations are not planned on a "peaceable" basis. They are designed to create trouble.

A NEGRO STUDENT: We are hoping to get people to see the necessity of freedom. We want to go by the Constitution of the United States.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER L. B. SULLIVAN: The whites are more united than ever before. Our customs and traditions just can't be changed overnight.

REV. KING: I have advised all along that we follow a path of non-violence. . . . Our aim is not to defeat or to humiliate the white man, but to win his friendship and understanding.

THOMAS B. HILL JR., past president of the Alabama Bar Assn.: The Southern white man will not be pushed around.

ATTORNEY GENERAL MacDONALD GALLION: This trouble is stemming from outside the state. I think Negroes in Alabama should turn to new leadership.

CARL W. BEAR, president of the Montgomery Chamber of Commerce: Much of this trouble has been brought on by young people given to acting on passion rather than reason. . . . We have seen the same thing happen recently in Cuba. . . . I don't know if Communists are behind it. . . . If they are not Communists, they are pursuing the same tactics as Communists.

REV. KING: They [the demonstrations] were initiated by students; they have been fed and sustained by students. Once they started, however, the students asked for the advice and counsel and direction from organizations and individuals who had been more experienced in this area. But I think it is important that they were spontaneous in the beginning and initiated by the students.

ALLYN McKEEN, partner in a company that has some Negro customers: There is talk of a boycott, but it would be difficult for the colored people to do that—if they want to eat. There are not enough colored stores to feed them. . . . A boycott, though, would hurt all business indirectly by causing a general slowing down in business activity.

GROVER C. HALL JR., editor of the Montgomery **Advertiser:** A boycott of white merchants by the Negroes would be a form of cannibalism that would eat up black and white. The Negro needs the white people's jobs. The white people need the Negroes' work. We couldn't collect the garbage or get a shirt laundered.

A NEGRO GIRL STUDENT: I don't mind going to jail because I suppose that will be the only way we will ever get our rights. I want more than anything else to be a teacher. My parents have sacrificed to help me. I don't want to end up in somebody's kitchen. But we just can't stand any more being treated like animals.

REV. ARCH L. McNAIR, president of the Montgomery Ministerial Assn.; The more the crisis grows, the less progress is made. All the progress at this time has been stopped by these demonstrations.

RABBI EUGENE BLACHSCHLEGER: You cannot do things in a hurry in Montgomery, or in the South as a whole. Social changes have to come slowly.

A NEGRO STUDENT: I think this is a phase of the fight against segregation. When we finish college, we are not going to leave the South. We want our children to be able to eat, sit, stand where they please.

CITY ATTORNEY CALVIN M. WHITESELL: We have determined on a course of action. The Negroes will be dispersed every time they try to have a mass public demonstration. They can have freedom of assembly, but only in their churches and other appropriate places. . . . The mature, substantial Negro in Montgomery is not taking part in this uprising.

REV. RALPH D. ABERNATHY, Negro leader: This is the most significant action since the Montgomery bus boycott. It proves two things: First, the Negro has gained a new sense of dignity. It is a new "emancipation." We have proved truly that we are not afraid.

Second, it says to the nation and the world that the total Negro population wants to be free. There are those who say, "Get rid of the agitators and it will end." This is not so. The leadership rises from below—from the great mass of the Negro people.

Our movement will not be crushed. No legislation or show of force can compel the Negro ever again to accept second-class citizenship. His mind is free. The spirit of freedom has been caught by the young people. Nothing will stop them now.